

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 DHA-02 ACDA-07 SSO-00  
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AMEMBASSY PARIS  
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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L LUSAKA 2257

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PORG SF WA UK  
SUBJ: SWAPO VIEWS ON EVE OF NEW YORK TALKS

SUMMARY: IN INFORMAL TALKS WITH BRITISH JULY 31, NUJOMA AND MUYONGO REPEATED SUSPICIONS OF SOUTH AFRICA'S TRUE INTENTIONS (SAG IS PUSHING AHEAD WITH TURNHALLE BY ESTABLISHING ETHNIC LOCAL COUNCILS; TRAINING TRIBAL ARMIES IS NOT IN THE SPIRIT OF GRANTING INDEPENDENCE BY FREE ELECTIONS). SWAPO CANNOT AGREE TO SAG TROOPS POLICING ELECTIONS. ROLE OF ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL AS NOW ENVISAGED IS UNACCEPTABLE TO SWAPO. PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION IS UNACCEPTABLE. WALVIS BAY CANNOT BE EXCLUDED FROM NAMIBIA. SWAPO LEADERS ALSO ADOPTED HARD LINE ON RELEASE OF PRISONERS HELD BY SWAPO. DESPITE SWAPO DEEP SUSPICIONS, SWAPO LEADERS GAVE IMPRESSION OF WILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE.  
END SUMMARY.

1. ADDRESSEES MAY HAVE RECEIVED REPORTS OF BRITISH HIGHCOM'S  
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MEETING WITH NUJOMA AND MUYONGO OVER LUNCH JULY 31, THE FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY OF THE HICOM'S REPORTING CABLES ON THAT MEETING.

--NUJOMA AND MUYONGO ARE SUSPICIOUS THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS PRESSING AHEAD WITH TURNHALLE. THEY CITE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ETHNIC COUNCILS; THE PROPOSED TRAINING OF TRIBAL ARMIES AND THE NAMING OF AN ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL AS EVIDENCE THAT

SAG IS UNWILLING TO GRANT INDEPENDENCE ON THE BASIS OF FREE ELECTIONS. SWAPO LEADERS CANNOT BELIEVE STEYN CAN BE NEUTRAL; HE IS BOUND TO BE LOYAL TO AND DO THE BIDDING OF THE SAG. IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE BE THE DOMINANT PARTNER OR THAT THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL SHOULD BE APPOINTED BY SOMEONE OTHER THAN THE SAG. APPARENT SAG EFFORT TO CONDUCT ELECTIONS ON BASIS OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION IS COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE TO SWAPO.

--SWAPO CANNOT AGREE TO SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS ONLY POLICING ELECTIONS. NUJOMA SEEMED TO FAVOR THREE MEN IN A JEEP AS A POSSIBLE COMPROMISE IF UN FORCES WERE IN CONTROL AND SOUTH AFRICANS AND SWAPO ELEMENTS WERE ONLY SUBSIDIARY.

--SWAPO IS WILLING TO CONSIDER MEASURES TO GIVE CONFIDENCE TO NAMIBIAN WHITES.

--SWAPO INSISTS THAT WALVIS BAY CANNOT BE EXCLUDED FROM NAMIBIA.

--NUJOMA TOOK A HARD LINE ON THE RELEASE OF SHIPANGA AND OTHERS HELD WITH HIM. HE CONSIDERS THEM TRAITORS AND REFUSES TO ACCEPT ANYBODY'S RIGHT TO REQUIRE SWAPO TO RELEASE THEM. HE SUGGESTED THAT AN ACT OF CLEMENCY MIGHT ACCOMPANY THE INSTALLATION OF AN AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IN NAMIBIA.

2. BRITISH URGED NUJOMA AND MUYONGO TO RETAIN OPEN MINDS AND NOT TO ADOPT ATTITUDES THAT WOULD GIVE SAG AN OPPORTUNITY TO BREAK OFF DISCUSSIONS. "NUJOMA APPEARED TO SEE THIS BUT URGED THAT THE FIVE SHOULD EXERT MAXIMUM PRESSURE ON SOUTH CONFIDENTIAL

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AFRICANS TO GET THEM TO ACCEPT THE FULL TERMS OF RESOLUTION 385."

3. BRITISH WERE ENCOURAGED THAT NUJOMA AND MUYONGO SEEMED TO RECOGNIZE THAT FIVE'S INITIATIVE AT LEAST OFFERS A CHANCE OF A PEACEJIL SETTLEMENT AND THAT THEY APPEARED TO RECOGNIZE THE NEED FOR COMPROMISE. BRITISH NOTED THAT THE MAIN PROBLEM WILL BE TO PERSUADE SWAPO THAT THE WEST IS SERIOUS IN WANTING TO PUSH SOUTH AFRICANS TO THE LIMIT. THEY RECOMMENDED MAXIMUM FRANKNESS IN DEALING WITH NUJOMA AND POINTED OUT THAT PATIENCE AND AT TIMES FIRMNESS ON THE PART OF THE CONTACT GROUP WOULD BE REQUIRED. BRITS ALSO SUGGESTED THAT BEST SOLUTION TO SHIPANGA PROBLEM WOULD BE TO PERSUADE NYERERE TO RELEASE HIM AND HIS COLLEAGUES.

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REPEATED SUSPICIONS OF SOUTH AFRICA'S TRUE  
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**Review Markings:**  
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